

Arms Control and Disarmament

STATE DEPARTMENT BUREAU OF ARMS CONTROL

The State Department Bureau of Arms Control supports U.S. participation in the bilateral and multilateral arms talks taking place in Geneva. Since the integration of the former Arms Control and Disarmament Agency (ACDA) into the State Department in 1999, the Bureau of Arms Control has been responsible for international agreements on conventional, chemical/biological, and strategic forces, and supporting on-going negotiations, policy-making, and interagency implementation efforts.

The Bureau of Arms Control leads efforts to negotiate future arms control agreements, including in the Conference on Disarmament (CD), on such issues as the cut-off of fissile material production and antipersonnel landmines. This Bureau also has the equally important task of implementing a large number of existing agreements, including INF, START, the Moscow Treaty, Chemical Weapons Convention, and Biological Weapons Convention.

The Bureau of Arms Control provides the staff of the U.S. delegation to the CD, which is based permanently in Geneva, and headed by a U.S. Permanent Representative to the CD. The Geneva Office of the Bureau of Arms Control also provides support to visiting U.S. delegations to the commissions charged with addressing implementation issues associated with the major arms control treaties: the Special Verification Commission (SVC) for the Intermediate-range Nuclear Forces (INF) Treaty, the Joint Compliance and Inspection Commission (JCIC) for the Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty (START). The 2002 Moscow Treaty, described below, establishes the Bilateral Implementation Commission but as this book went to press it had not yet been determined where this Commission will meet. These commissions, and the treaties they are associated with, are described in detail below.

STRATEGIC ARMS REDUCTION TREATY (START)

The START Treaty was negotiated by the United States and the Soviet Union over a nine-year period between 1982 and 1991. Five months after the treaty was signed, the Soviet Union dissolved and four independent states with strategic nuclear weapons on their territory came into existence — Belarus, Kazakhstan, the Russian Federation and Ukraine. Through the Lisbon Protocol to the START I Treaty signed on May 23, 1992, Belarus, Kazakhstan, the Russian Federation and Ukraine became parties to the START Treaty. The treaty entered into force in December 1994 after Belarus, Kazakhstan and Ukraine had all acceded to the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) as non-nuclear states.

START was the first treaty to reduce strategic offensive weapons. It has led to the reduction of the capacity to deliver 9,000 warheads on both sides, and produced

stabilizing changes to the composition of the deployed strategic offensive forces of both sides. The overall deployed strategic warheads of each side have been reduced by 30 to 40 percent, with a reduction of as much as 50 percent in the most threatening systems. The treaty has a 15-year duration, and can be extended for successive 5-year periods by agreement of the parties.

The START Treaty requires the U.S. and former Soviet Union to make deep reductions in their deployed strategic offensive systems of intercontinental ballistic missiles (ICBMs), sea-launched ballistic missiles (SLBMs), and heavy bombers. These reductions took place in three phases spaced over the first seven years after the treaty entered force and limit the parties to 1,600 deployed strategic nuclear delivery systems and 6,000 attributable warheads that those missiles and bombers can carry. At the end of the second phase of treaty implementation in December 1999, the number of delivery systems deployed by the U.S. stood at 1,451 with 7,763 attributed warheads while the former Soviet Union had 1,397 deployed delivery systems with 6,998 attributed warheads. The final START limits were met at the end of 2001. No strategic offensive arms remain on the territory of Belarus, Kazakhstan, and Ukraine.

To assist in verifying compliance with these limits, START incorporates the most extensive verification regime in history, which includes the exchange of ballistic missile telemetry tapes (radio signals containing test data from missile launches), the permanent monitoring of mobile ICBM assembly facilities, 12 kinds of on-site inspections, cooperative measures, and data exchanges to complement national technical means of verification.

JOINT COMPLIANCE AND INSPECTION COMMISSION

The Joint Compliance and Inspection Commission (JCIC) is the body charged with overseeing implementation of the START Treaty. It held its first session in Geneva at the end of 1991. The U.S. Representative to the JCIC is Dr. George Look.

The JCIC was established under Article XV of the START Treaty to promote the objectives and the implementation of the provisions of the Treaty, to resolve questions relating to implementation and compliance with the Treaty, and to agree upon additional measures as may be necessary to improve the viability and effectiveness of the Treaty. The JCIC meets on a date when the U.S. and at least one of the other parties to the Treaty have agreed to hold a meeting. The JCIC has effectively resolved issues unforeseen when the Treaty was written. For example, through the Commission, the parties have agreed on procedures reflecting the multilateral nature of the START regime following the break-up of the Soviet Union; to extend the time required to submit certain telemetry reports; and updated the Treaty to expand the list of aircraft allowed to support inspection teams. The JCIC is currently discussing several on-going implementation and compliance issues that involve all parties to the Treaty.

MOSCOW TREATY ON STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE REDUCTIONS

The Moscow Treaty on Strategic Offensive Reductions was signed by President George W. Bush and President Vladimir Putin on May 24, 2002. Under the treaty, the United States and Russia will reduce their strategic nuclear warheads to nearly

A HISTORY OF ARMS CONTROL TALKS IN GENEVA

Geneva's reputation as an international city and a city of peace is closely linked to its role as the locus of many critical bilateral and multilateral arms control negotiations. The 1972 U.S.-USSR SALT-I agreements called for implementation talks to take place in Geneva and the SALT-II negotiations began in Geneva in the fall of 1972. This was followed by the "NST" negotiations between the U.S. and USSR, begun in the early 1980s, that led to the INF Treaty concluded in 1987, the START I Treaty in 1991, and the START II Treaty in 1993.

During the Cold War years, neutral Geneva provided the meeting ground for bilateral discussions between the United States and the then Soviet Union. It was in nearby St. Cergue in 1982 that the U.S. Ambassador Paul Nitze and Soviet arms control negotiator Yuli Kvitsinsky took their famous "walk in the woods" which gave new impetus to the INF negotiations. And it was in Geneva in 1985 that President Reagan and President Gorbachev held their first meeting, which opened the way to an improved climate in relations between the U.S. and Soviet Union and ultimately led to the successful conclusion of the INF and START treaties.

In the post-Cold War era, arms control priorities shifted to eliminating the over armament of the Cold War; preventing proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and their means of delivery; pursuing agreement to enhance nonproliferation objectives; applying arms control solutions to regional problems; and establishing global norms for the control of arms.

The 1990s were a productive period in multilateral disarmament, and at the Conference on Disarmament in Geneva the United States was involved in the negotiation of two major new treaties: the 1992 Chemical Weapons Convention (banning the acquisition, use, stockpiling, and transfer of chemical weapons); and the 1996 Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (banning nuclear weapons test explosions or any other nuclear explosions).

TREATIES NEGOTIATED IN GENEVA

INF

The INF Treaty, which eliminated an entire class of intermediate- and short-range missiles, was negotiated in Geneva between 1981 and 1987, and entered into force in 1988. Implementation is overseen by the Special Verification Commission (SVC) which meets in Geneva (see page 59).

START

The Treaty was negotiated in Geneva between 1982 and 1991, and entered into force in December 1994. Implementation of the Treaty is overseen by the Joint Compliance and Inspection Commission (see page 56) which meets regularly in Geneva.

two-thirds below current levels. This will be the largest reduction ever in deployed strategic nuclear warheads. The Treaty is part of the new strategic framework that the United States and Russia have established, which includes a broad array of cooperative efforts in political, economic, and security areas.

The Treaty requires each country to reduce and limit its strategic nuclear warheads to 1700-2200 by December 31, 2012. Each side may determine for itself the composition and structure of its strategic forces consistent with this limit. A Bilateral Implementation Commission will meet at least twice a year to discuss issues related to the Treaty.

The U.S. Senate unanimously approved the treaty on March 6, 2003 and the Russian State Duma ratified it on May 14. The treaty entered into force with the exchange of instruments of ratification between Presidents Bush and Putin on June 1, 2003 and will remain in force until December 31, 2012. It may be extended or replaced with a subsequent agreement.

The five-Party Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty (START) of 1991 continues in force unchanged. (Belarus, Kazakhstan, Russia, Ukraine, and the United States are parties to START.) START's comprehensive verification regime will provide the foundation for transparency and predictability regarding implementation of the new bilateral Treaty. As noted in the Joint Declaration on the New Strategic Relationship issued in Moscow together with the treaty, the United States and Russia will also continue discussions to explore additional ways to enhance transparency and predictability.

BILATERAL IMPLEMENTATION COMMISSION

The Moscow Treaty establishes a Bilateral Implementation Commission (BIC) as a diplomatic consultative forum to discuss issues related to implementation of the Treaty. It specifies that the Commission should meet at least twice a year. As this book went to press, it has not been determined where the commission will meet. The U.S. Representative to the BIC is Dr. George Look.

INTERMEDIATE-RANGE AND SHORTER RANGE NUCLEAR FORCES TREATY (INF)

The 1988 INF Treaty was negotiated in Geneva between 1981 and 1987. It was the first treaty to eliminate an entire category of weapons. It obliged the United States and the Soviet Union to eliminate all of their intermediate-range (1,000 - 5,500 km) and shorter-range (500 - 1,000 km) ground-launched cruise and ballistic missiles by May 31, 1991. The Treaty, which is of unlimited duration, also bans the possession, production and flight-testing of such missiles. The Treaty had an extensive inspection regime that ended on May 31, 2001.

The United States recognizes 12 states as successors to the Soviet Union for purposes of the INF Treaty (i.e. the 12 former Soviet Republics, excluding the Baltic States). All 12 successor states share the rights and obligations of the former Soviet Union (FSU) with respect to the Treaty and are bound by the prohibitions contained in the Treaty. Among the successor states, only four states (Belarus, Kazakhstan, the Russian Fed-

eration and Ukraine) take part in the INF implementation body, the Special Verification Commission.

SPECIAL VERIFICATION COMMISSION

The INF Treaty's implementation body, the Special Verification Commission (SVC), was established under Article XIII of the INF treaty. The SVC meets in Geneva, as needed, to agree upon such measures as may be necessary to improve the viability and effectiveness of the INF Treaty, and to resolve questions relating to implementation of and compliance with the obligations assumed under the Treaty. The U.S. Representative to the SVC is Dr. George Look.

The SVC held its first session in Geneva in June 1988. As of summer 2003, there had been twenty-eight sessions of the commission.

Since its establishment, the SVC has concluded 16 amendments to the Memorandum of Agreement (the basic INF implementing document) to help the parties effectively implement the INF Treaty's inspection regime.

THE GENEVA PROCESS — SMALL ARMS

The U.S. works with many nations bilaterally, and with regional and international organizations, to stem the flow of illicit small arms and light weapons (SA/LW) trafficking. In 1996, the U.S. promulgated one of the world's first comprehensive laws on arms brokering, covering all U.S. citizens in the United States and abroad as well as foreign nationals in the United States. Furthermore, the U.S. carefully observes and enforces sanctions and embargoes established by the United Nations Security Council and urges other states to do the same. In Geneva, the U.S. is engaged in Geneva-based efforts to strengthen implementation of the UN Plan of Action to Prevent, Combat and Eradicate the Illicit Trade in Small Arms and Light Weapons in all Its Aspects, which was adopted at the 2001 UN Conference on SA/LW.

INTERNET

www.state.gov/t/ac/

Press releases, fact sheets, and information on arms control treaties.

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